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Security Council

Provisional

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3358th Meeting

Tuesday, 5 April 1994, 7.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Keating	(New Zealand)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Vañhara
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Second progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/360)

94-85348 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 7.10 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of April, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to pay a special tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of March 1994. I am sure I speak for all the members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Mérimée for his great diplomatic skill and the unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business during a very difficult month. Thank you very much, Ambassador Mérimée.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Second progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/360)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the second progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1994/360.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/391, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* I should like to extend my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish you every success.

I should also like to pay tribute to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for his excellent work last month.

On behalf of the people of Rwanda, my delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his invaluable efforts for peace in Rwanda. In this regard, we welcome his second progress report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), contained in document S/1994/360 of 30 March 1994.

We take this opportunity to express our deepest appreciation for the sustained efforts of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda and the stabilizing effects of its work.

In this connection, we appreciate the commitment and dedication of the Special Representative, Mr. Jacques-Roger Booh Booh, and we reiterate our gratitude to all those countries that contribute to UNAMIR and to the governmental and non-governmental bodies that give vital humanitarian assistance in many forms, assistance that is much appreciated. The humanitarian situation has deteriorated alarmingly because, in addition to the critical conditions suffered by those persons displaced by war, the persistent drought has led to a grave food crisis in the country.

The scale of the challenges and the fall in income caused by the difficult economic situation call for a generous response to the appeal already made to the international community, and now repeated, to increase humanitarian assistance in order to enable us to meet our growing needs.

An evaluation of the peace process in Rwanda, which is the subject of the Secretary-General's report, shows that there has been some progress in implementing the Arusha Peace Agreeement concluded between the Government of the Rwandese Republic and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), although there have been difficulties, which have delayed the establishment of some transitional institutions. It is important to highlight the fact that the progress includes, at the political level, the establishment of one of the three transitional institutions, the presidency, on

5 January 1994, when the President of the Republic was sworn in as Head of State for the transition period.

Moreover, the efforts made so far have made it possible to bring closer together the views of all the political parties involved in order to overcome the obstacles delaying the establishment of the transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly. The only remaining problem at this level concerns participation in the National Assembly by the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic, in respect of the relevant provisions of the protocol of agreement on power-sharing, signed on 9 January 1993. We have only to overcome the problem of this one, precise point, which we must do as soon as possible - with the support of the international community, and the Security Council in particular - before proceeding to the establishment of the transitional institutions.

In another area, it is noteworthy that, in parallel with the actions taken to find solutions at the political level, the parties have made progress at the military level, with the support of UNAMIR. It is also noteworthy that the difficulties in establishing the transitional institutions have not affected observance of the cease-fire. As the Secretary-General stresses in his report, this demonstrates the parties' unwavering commitment to the peace process.

Extending UNAMIR's mandate would therefore help to support the stabilizing role it plays with its presence in Rwanda. Such an extension is all the more desirable in that UNAMIR's presence has facilitated the holding of joint meetings with representatives of the Government forces and of the RPF, which has made it possible to advance the preparations for phase III, to consist of the actual process of disengagement, demobilization and integration of the two parties' forces.

All of this has brought about greater trust between the forces of the two parties, which is essential for ensuring that progress is made in implementing the subsequent phases of the plan of operations. It is also important to emphasize that the cooperation of the two parties with UNAMIR has facilitated the planning - already well advanced - of a mine-clearance programme.

In general, the renewal of UNAMIR's mandate will contribute to international peace and security because of the role the Mission continues to play in efforts to deal with the results of the situation caused by events since 21 October 1993 in Burundi, a neighbour of Rwanda. That situation came on top of the general problem of insecurity, which must be resolved in order to make the process of peace and democratization now under way in Rwanda sturdy and lasting. As indicated in the Secretary-General's report, the Council must give special attention to this aspect, which could jeopardize the full and effective implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Increasing the size of UNAMIR's civilian police contingent would respond to this need. It is all the more necessary since the national gendarmerie, which is responsible for maintaining public order, suffers from a lack of human, material and logistical resources. Furthermore, with its current numbers UNAMIR's civilian police have been able to operate only in the capital, Kigali, and not, as was originally intended, in various other parts of the country. As indicated in the Secretary-General's report, the United Nations civilian police monitors should be given more visibility, so as to inspire and enhance confidence and promote a greater sense of security within the population.

The people of Rwanda are very grateful for the international community's efforts to create the necessary conditions for the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. This support from the international community must of course go hand in hand with the unwavering resolve of the parties concerned to uphold the ideal of peace and progress.

It is against this background that, while we welcome the decision the Council is intending to take to extend UNAMIR's mandate until 29 July next, the people of Rwanda are aware that - given the review of the situation in Rwanda that is scheduled to take place within the next six weeks - we must respond without delay to this strong message from the Council and make progress by establishing the transitional institutions and by taking the necessary steps for phase II of the Secretary-General's plan to come into effect.

With the renewed support of UNAMIR, mobilizing the political forces in the country, will make it possible, through dialogue and sustained commitment, to give new a impetus to the peace process in Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation has congratulated you, Sir, in the Council's private consultations, and we are delighted to repeat those congratulations in this public meeting by congratulating you once again on your assumption of the office of President of

the Council for the month of April. Given your distinguished diplomatic experience and skills, my delegation is certain that you will lead the Council wisely and productively in its performance of its duties.

Permit me also to express the appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, the Ambassador of France, Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for the vigorous and outstanding manner in which he conducted the business of the Council for the month of March.

My delegation has given very careful consideration to the excellent report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, contained in document S/1994/360 of 30 March 1994. The report, which addresses the political, military, security and humanitarian situation in Rwanda since 30 December 1993, contains both positive and negative elements. Let me begin with the positive.

First, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has continued to assist, as best it can, the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and, on 5 January this year, as requested under the Arusha plan, a President was sworn in for the Republic on schedule.

Secondly, since the signing of the Peace Agreement between the parties eight months ago, the cease-fire has generally been respected, a fact which, according to the Secretary-General, attests to the commitment of the parties to the peace process as set out in the Agreement.

Thirdly, significant progress has been made in the deployment of the military personnel of UNAMIR in the six designated sectors of Rwanda, and the military tasks projected for phase I of the operational plan have been concluded ahead of schedule. UNAMIR is in fact ready to commence the tasks assigned to it under phase II of its schedule. Furthermore, UNAMIR is also at an advanced stage in its preparations for phase III of its schedule of activities. The success achieved in the deployment area and the presence of UNAMIR military personnel in parts of the country have helped to stabilize the situation and foster a climate conducive to peace negotiations.

However, it is regrettable that, whilst the projected tasks under phase I of the four-phase implementation plan for Rwanda approved by the Council in its resolution 872 (1993) have been accomplished, efforts to establish a broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly have not yet yielded the desired result, due to the inability of the parties concerned to agree on the relevant modalities, including the lists of members of both the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional Assembly.

It is vital that the political deadlock that has stalled fulfilment of the four-phase plan should not be allowed to continue. My delegation strongly believes that, whilst efforts to bring all the parties on board the peace train may continue, the collective will of the people of Rwanda must not be held hostage to the whims and caprices of one party. Indeed, we share the view of the Facilitator that these delays and bickerings within a party are totally unacceptable and have no legal basis within the framework of the Arusha plan.

As a way of moving the political process forward, therefore, my delegation believes the present draft resolution makes a significant contribution, for three important reasons.

First, it extends the mandate of UNAMIR for an additional period of four months, largely in recognition of the vital role that UNAMIR can play in the restoration of peace to the country. I think this point should be made clear to the parties.

Secondly, it agrees, subject to the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Arusha Peace Agreement, to provide a further 45 civilian police monitors to augment the current strength of the civilian police contingent of 60, and thereby enhance the security situation throughout the country.

Thirdly, while commending the efforts of United Nations Member States and non-governmental agencies which have provided, and continue to provide, humanitarian and other assistance, it encourages them to continue to provide such assistance on an increased scale.

As a country linked to Rwanda by history and culture, Nigeria is anxious to continue to make its own contribution, through the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, to advancing the peace process in Rwanda. While urging the parties in Rwanda to set aside their differences and agree to establish the transitional institutions without further delay, we believe that the international community should continue to offer its assistance to implement the peace process, subject to the conditions that I have just mentioned. Given the will of the people, and the parties permitting, and with the continued assistance of the international community, peace should soon return to Rwanda. This we strongly believe.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dorani (Djibouti) *(interpretation from French):* I should like to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Djibouti, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. I am convinced that under your leadership, thanks to your great diplomatic experience and talents, the work of the Council will be fruitful.

I am also pleased to be able to pay a well-deserved tribute to the French delegation, and first and foremost to Ambassador Mérimée, for the wise, competent and genial manner in which he led the Council last month in its work, which was successful. I convey to him my delegation's gratitude.

The delegation of Djibouti notes with great appreciation the constructive role being played by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and his staff in their ceaseless attempts to reconcile the positions of the parties concerned in order to achieve lasting peace in Rwanda.

Djibouti will vote for the draft resolution, although we would have wished to see the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) extended for six months; we consider such an extension necessary - vital even - given the situation in the country, for all the transitional institutions to be established. Nevertheless, we hope that the process under way, which is in itself positive - the cease-fire has held, dialogue has not been broken off and the preparations for disengagement, demobilization and integration of the armed forces are at an advanced stage - will have a positive outcome.

It is also necessary, according to the Secretary-General's report, for 45 additional police officers to be deployed in the nine provinces as soon as possible, to assist the national police force, which is short of manpower and *matériel*, in maintaining law and order, and at the same time to restore confidence on the part of the civilian population, the more since the cost is negligible, there is every reason to carry out this operation.

My delegation is concerned that the Arusha Peace Agreement be rapidly implemented, given the six-week period which the Security Council has established for reviewing the situation in the country. It is our hope that in implementing this agreement, which we hope will be implemented without hindrance, the Republic of Rwanda will find civil peace in accordance with the wish of its people and Government.

Finally, we draw the attention of the international community to the humanitarian aspect of this tragedy and urge it to redouble its efforts to provide the necessary assistance.

I cannot conclude my statement without expressing my delegation's gratitude for the efforts being made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the facilitator country Tanzania, the countries of the region and by France, whose initiative in March last year in bringing before the Security Council the question of the situation in Rwanda, may bring about an effective political settlement of this tragedy.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/391 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 909 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the vote.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am extremely touched by the expressions of gratitude you have addressed to me on behalf of the members of the Council. The French delegation is pleased to see you guiding our work this month and assures you of its full cooperation. The leadership of the Council is certainly in good hands.

The Security Council, by adopting this resolution, has extended the mandate of UNAMIR for a period of four months. My delegation welcomes that decision to assure the continuity of the United Nations commitment in Rwanda. The deployment of UNAMIR, indeed, has

significantly contributed to stability in that country since the signing of the Arusha peace agreement.

The Rwandese parties have continuously reaffirmed that they are deeply committed to implementing that agreement, which was concluded scarcely eight months ago. This is demonstrated by the fact that the cease-fire has been generally observed, in contrast to other African issues of which the Council is seized. For this reason, as the Secretary-General points out in his report of 30 March 1994, it is essential for the United Nations to continue to support the process under way.

My Government believes that the parties must now show responsibility by overcoming the disagreements relating to the establishment of the transitional institutions, which are necessary for the continuation of the peace process. The only difficulty which remains, we wish to note, is the participation of the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR) in the Transitional National Assembly. We have joined in the appeal issued in Kigali by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the representatives of the main countries concerned to ensure that that political group will participate in the process of national reconciliation. We have also noted that President Habyarimana has committed himself to establishing the transitional institutions as soon as that obstacle is overcome. There is no reason why this should not be done within the six-week period provided for in the resolution.

If no progress is noted during that time, the Council may proceed to a reassessment of the Organization's commitment to Rwanda.

It is clear that UNAMIR will enjoy continued support only if the parties wholly and promptly implement the Arusha Peace Agreement. Therefore, the parties should understand that henceforth they are under an obligation to produce results.

France hopes that this appeal will be heeded and that, as soon as differences are overcome, the parties will undertake to assure the people of Rwanda, and most particularly displaced Rwandans, that they will be able to return to their homes in safety and with the promise of lasting peace and true national reconciliation for the future.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): Sir, at our first formal meeting in April, let me extend my delegation's welcome and support as you assume the responsibilities of the Council presidency. We should also like to express our deep appreciation and admiration to Ambassador Mérimée for his excellent stewardship of the Council during the month of March.

The United States has supported the peace process in Rwanda from the very beginning, and we do so today. We are concerned, however, over the continuing delays in installing the transitional institutions. For this reason, we strongly support the Security Council's decision to limit the extension of UNAMIR's mandate and to review within six weeks the progress made by the parties toward implementing the Arusha Accords, and the role of the United Nations, including UNAMIR's future.

We believe that UNAMIR has played a key role in keeping the peace in Rwanda under difficult circumstances. The UNAMIR forces should be commended for their service. The continuing political impasse, however, has made UNAMIR's mission that much more difficult, and contributed to the deteriorating security situation in Rwanda. The delays are poisoning a peace process intended to build trust between the parties and to show that compromise can be more fruitful than confrontation. In short, as the Secretary-General said in his report on Rwanda:

> "The prolonged delay in putting the transitional institutions in place ... pose[s] a threat to the peace process." (S/1994/360, para. 9)

We want to help Rwanda achieve stability. As one measure of that assistance, the United States Government is currently examining various ways to assist in the demining efforts once political conditions permit.

The Arusha Accords were justifiably hailed as an historic achievement in regional conflict resolution. The Accords provide the blueprint for transition to full democracy and national reconciliation and must be fully and expeditiously implemented in their entirety.

The parties in Rwanda are very close to reaching agreement on the composition of the transitional institutions. There should be no more delays, no more procrastination. We call on all sides in the political discussions to redouble their efforts and act in the national interest to put the transitional government in place as soon as possible so that the Rwandan people will finally know peace and security.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): Sir, allow me first of all to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of April. The delegation of Brazil is particularly pleased to see you presiding over our work. Your diplomatic skills and proven leadership will contribute decisively to the efficient conduct of our work. Please do count on the full cooperation of this delegation.

I also wish to express on this occasion recognition for the outstanding work carried out during the busy month of March by your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée.

The Security Council has just concluded a thorough review of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) based on the report of the Secretary-General, for which we are very grateful. We have analysed the situation in Rwanda, including the current undertakings by UNAMIR, and the tasks that still remain to be accomplished. It is the understanding of my Government that the overall objectives of the Arusha Peace Agreement are being gradually attained, thus warranting that the mandate of UNAMIR be extended until 29 July 1994.

During these last six months UNAMIR has contributed to creating an environment conducive to compliance with the Arusha Peace Agreement by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). The cease-fire has been holding thanks to UNAMIR's stabilizing role. The incumbent Head of State was sworn in as President of the Republic at the beginning of January 1994. While recognizing the progress achieved so far in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, we should keep in mind that the prompt establishment of a broad-based transitional Government in Rwanda is a key element of the Peace Agreement. Brazil continues to encourage the parties in Rwanda to bridge the differences that would enable the remaining national institutions provided for in the agreement to be established.

We look forward to the successful and prompt establishment of these provisional institutions, to the holding of national elections, and to the ensuing installation of the new government. We firmly believe that only with the new government in place will peace and security prevail, allowing this nation to tread the path of economic and social development. As a troop contributor to UNAMIR, though on a modest scale, Brazil remains committed to the presence of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda as set out in resolution 872 (1993). As a matter of principle in this as well as in other United Nations peace-keeping operations, we hold that United Nations missions should be appropriately manned and equipped for the discharge of their respective mandates. Brazil supported the adoption of resolution 909 (1994). In so doing, we were prompted by the expectation that continuing UNAMIR's mandate will greatly contribute to the advancement of the peace process in Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) *(interpretation from the Arabic):* Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of April. We are confident that your well-known competence and diplomatic skills will enable our deliberations to reach a successful and meaningful conclusion. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, and the members of his delegation, for the exemplary manner in which they led the work of the Council during the previous month.

My delegation would also like to express its thanks to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), contained in document S/1994/360, in which he outlines and analyses the prevailing political, military and humanitarian situation in that country. My delegation considers the document to be extremely useful.

It is indeed a matter of concern that the conflicting parties in Rwanda have not yet been able to establish the two transitional institutions agreed upon at Kinihira on 10 December 1993, namely the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly. My delegation thus concurs with the Secretary-General's remarks in the report, in which he states that the prolonged delay in putting the two transitional institutions in place has not only prevented UNAMIR from carrying out its tasks in accordance with the schedule approved by the Security Council in resolution 872 (1993), but has also contributed further to a deterioration of the security situation in the country and jeopardized the peace process.

My delegation believes that the prolonged delay in establishing a broad-based transitional government in

Rwanda constitutes a serious impediment to the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement and to the smooth functioning of the State's institutions. My delegation is pleased to note that the diligent efforts made in this regard have led to a narrowing of differences between the two conflicting parties with a view to arriving at a compromise solution that will facilitate the prompt establishment of that broad-based transitional Government.

Our delegation believes that the mere fact that the two parties continue their dialogue despite increasing tensions is in itself a cause for optimism. The United Nations should continue its support of this dialogue and of the current initiatives to resolve the remaining problems, in an effort to complete phase I of the Secretary-General's plan for the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement, and in order to facilitate phase II, which includes disengagement, demobilization and the integration of the armed forces and of the gendarmerie.

We share the concerns that have been expressed in the Secretary-General's report over the serious deterioration of the security situation in Rwanda, particularly in Kigali, including the increase in political assassinations, ethnic crimes and banditry. We join the Secretary-General in his call for the cessation of such disturbing events, in order that the way might be paved for the full and effective implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and that fear not be allowed to prevail in that country. It is indeed a cause for concern that the police force, responsible for maintaining law and order, is severely handicapped in terms of personnel, equipment and training.

Because of the importance of establishing a civilian police contingent to undertake the mandate of maintaining law and order and of monitoring the activities of the local police in Kigali - where the two should be working in close cooperation - my delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's recommendations for the deployment of an additional 45 civilian police monitors in accordance with paragraph 38 of the report currently under review. My delegation also welcomes the extension of UNAMIR's mandate for an additional six months, which will allow the Council to review the situation and the progress achieved with regard to implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

In conclusion, the United Nations has made tremendous efforts to help the people of Rwanda overcome their crisis. My delegation, while praising what has been achieved so far, would like to emphasize that the Rwandese people assume the most important role in determining the success of this process. The Security Council, while renewing the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda until 29 July 1994, is hopeful that the parties concerned in Rwanda will take full advantage of this period to reach agreement on all remaining outstanding matters. On the basis of this understanding, my delegation supported the draft resolution.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.